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THE DOWNSIDE REVIEW

A BENEDICTINE QUARTERLY

BARON VON HÜGEL once wrote to a young friend: *"Ne lisez jamais les petits journaux religieux."* The Downside Review agrees with this stricture and hopes to evade it. In an age of digests, it attends to the needs of digestion. For while it is possible, with little effort on the part of either writer or reader, to set up a panoramic vision of philosophy, or theology, or history, this is really to take a further step in the flight from understanding. There is no profit in arranging already too familiar concepts in a novel pattern. They must be conceived again and anew. New readers must be invited to assist in the dynamic act of intelligence, wherein they were forged. There is no other way to intelligence, and intelligence is the only way of escape from anger and continued misunderstanding. And as the billiard cue striking the ball does not communicate motion to it but actualizes its own inherent potency for motion, so, in an infinitely higher degree, the teacher or writer does not communicate his ideas but solicits in the reader an act purely his own. In practice this means, generally, long unhurried articles that will repay more than one reading. We try not to fall too far below this program and its implied standard.

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THIS WEEK

Week by Week 35

The Tight Money Squeeze
by Henry S. Reuss 39

The Italy That Is Not Catholic
by John Cogley 42

Britain to the Polls
by Michael P. Fogarty 43

Polish Self-Portrait
by Maryvonne Butcher 45

An Essay Upon Excess: A Poem
by William Sylvester 46

Of Note: Sharing the Same Book
by Bernard Orchard, O.S.B. and Edmund Flood, O.S.B. 48

Communications 49

Books 52

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THE
Commonweal
A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature, and the Arts
THIRTY-FIFTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

week by week

MR. KHRUSHCHEV GOES HOME

THE RUSSIAN Premier has come and gone. To the great range of scenes, people, questions, and to the varied receptions he was accorded, he responded in his mercurial fashion. If the people of the United States were not exposed to all of Mr. Khrushchev's faces, at least they saw an impressive assortment. He ranged from jubilant to truculent; he could pass from an air of indulgent superiority to threatened—and threatening—competitor, with scarcely a pause in between.

So striking are his own personal characteristics that he readily took over the headlines and news stories during the entire period he was in this country. As a natural politician he has seemingly bottomless resources. Seeing him in action it becomes easy to understand how he could scrabble to the top of the power heap that is the Soviet government.

In evaluating and judging the effects of his visit, there is a point that cannot be overemphasized. Mr. Khrushchev speaks and acts not only as the strong and vigorous head of the Russian state but as the leader of international Communism. The system can do without him easier than he can do without the system. Though he may speak proudly for the system, may even modify and alter it, he is enclosed by it. While Mr. Khrushchev is aware of this fact and is happy to reiterate it—in different terms, naturally—many commentators were so bemused by his personal performance that they spoke as if Russian and Communist policy turned on Mr. Khrushchev's transient moods.

While the confusion of policy and personality must be avoided, so too must easy appeals to past history. If one wishes to condemn entirely the visit and all its implications, the means are at hand in analogies to events and comparisons to people in the history of the recent past. But in Paul Valéry's statement that "history is the science of what never happens twice," there is a warning against the inviting but superficial parallel.

In spite of the tensions and fears which the great destructive bombs have made a part of our time, some people find it easy to scorn the minimal bases for negotiations which remain open. They speak with admirable conviction and moral fervor, but they do not seem to understand that, just as definitely as there is something new on the moon, there is something new under the sun. The destructiveness of the most recent weapons, which no country has yet experienced, allows the possibility of total destruction of entire nations. If war is traditionally the last resort of diplomacy, we must hold in mind the terrible character of the war that modern diplomacy now works to forestall.

THE RECOGNITION of such dangers is not a counsel to despair. It is, rather, a counsel to further our own best purposes by the most prudent use of the means at our disposal. It is the background of modern negotiations.

After exploring over extended periods various other means of coping with the problems and threats posed by Communist Russia, President Eisenhower invited the Russian Premier to this country. Publicly, Mr. Khrushchev answered some questions, refused others and frequently spoke his set piece about the merits of Communism. Privately, he spent some hours with President Eisenhower from which he emerged with public hopes for improved understanding. The exact nature and full detail of the private conversation may not be entirely unfolded before the President's proposed spring trip to Russia.

Aside from the private talks at Camp David,

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which cannot, of course, be evaluated at this time, what was accomplished by the visit? Mr. Khrushchev, it is posited, gained prestige at home. Worse, he probably gained prestige for himself and Russia among the uncommitted countries of the world. He made a personal impact on some people in this country, reducing their resistance to Russian threats. His reception discouraged and dispirited many in the satellite countries of Russia.

These were the dangers one saw beforehand. They have sufficient validity so that one looks for something positive to justify the Premier's visit. Most concretely, justification lies in the agreement between Mr. Khrushchev and the President that further talks on Berlin are necessary, that a disarmament agreement with the adequate controls previously proposed by the United States may be possible. Less tangibly, the visit allowed Mr. Khrushchev to see that the American people are united with their political leaders in opposition to Communist pressures. It reminded him that resentment against outrages such as the crushing of Hungary and religious persecution is widespread in this country. And it allowed Americans to see a vigorous, cruel leader they must oppose with determination, of course, but also with imaginative, consistent policies that we have yet to formulate.

These reasons to approve of the visit may appear to boil down to very little. In fact, they do. But against the background of what is terribly possible we must welcome them and use them, as well as we can, to our advantage.

LABOR'S MOOD

REPORTS FROM the recently concluded A.F.L.-C.I.O. convention in San Francisco indicate that the mood of this year's biennial gathering was anything but cheerful. The delegates from America's major unions obviously felt that labor was being unjustly put upon, and they were not prepared to accept this fact calmly.

There was, first and foremost, the new labor reform bill. Union leaders are convinced that some of the law's provisions represent carefully planned maneuvers by anti-union businessmen which will do more to curb labor's economic power than to slow down men like Hoffa. Headlines like "A.F.L.-C.I.O. President Meany Calls for Political War" may not be the best public relations approach, but they do reflect the conviction of labor leaders that they have been badly treated, in some cases by men they have counted as friends of labor. On this latter score it is undoubtedly true that labor leaders are making judgments that in individual cases are too harsh; many legislators voted for the bill that was passed on the eminently reasonable theory that the alternatives were worse. But the unwillingness of A.F.L.-C.I.O. leaders to accept such reasoning is a further indication of labor's current mood.

One immediate, if unfortunate, effect of the new reform bill will probably be to slow down labor's own efforts at internal reform which, law or no law, poses more problems than recent Congressional debates would lead one to imagine. The A.F.L.-C.I.O. is a loose federation of more than one hundred unions in which great stress has always been placed on local autonomy. This characteristic has the advantage of preventing excessive concentration of power in the hands of the national leaders, but it makes intervention in the affairs of member unions extremely difficult—a fact which helps to explain, if not to excuse, the attack made by George Meany on A. Philip Randolph for his remarks on the segregation issue.

Short of expulsion, the weapons available to reform-minded officers of the national federation are limited and their results slow in coming. And in the case of the Teamsters, at least, expulsion has proved to be highly ineffective. The parent A.F.L.-C.I.O. has missed the Teamster dues rather badly, but if ouster from the national federation has hurt Hoffa & Co. very substantially, this fact is not yet obvious. And it remains to be seen just how much effect the reform law itself will have.

At this point, in any case, there seems to be a strong inclination on labor's part to "show" supporters of the new labor law by letting the burden of reform pass to the shoulders of Secretary of Labor Mitchell, who must put into effect the provisions of the new law. And this inclination, which is based on resentment over labor's treatment in Washington, is strongly reinforced by the conviction that unions are in for tough times in the immediate future—too tough, some think, for the "luxury" of worry about internal house-cleaning.

The depth of labor's feelings in this matter can best be judged in the light of the long weeks of negotiation in steel. Before the strike began, labor leaders suspected that industry talk of inflation was primarily a device to win public sympathy for management; the negotiations themselves have completely convinced them. "Big management," union leaders believe, is at this point primarily interested in curbing labor's collective power, in recapturing complete control over what industry

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terms "management prerogatives" before the full sweep of automation remakes America's industrial pattern, with all that this will mean in the way of reduced work forces, shifting industries, regional dislocations and the like. U.S. labor leaders are a long way from demanding that the capital-labor relationship be modified or replaced by something like a partnership concept, but they are certainly not prepared to give up what voice they have on such vital questions without a bitter struggle.

Like all groups and organizations that had to fight hard to win even limited recognition and acceptance, labor unions are highly survival-conscious. They now see a serious, premeditated threat in some of the "hard" features added to the labor reform bill by the House and in management's hardening attitude toward collective bargaining. Unions will not give ground easily in the face of what they view as real threats, and, unless an unexpected break appears, a long period of relatively harmonious labor-management relations is rapidly nearing its end. From now on, labor and management will meet head on, arguing not so much on dollars and cents as on matters of principle. There are, we know, those who will welcome this development because they think disputes "on matters of principle" are the only ones worth having. But in labor relations the bitterest disputes are precisely those that are "ideological" in nature, and because this is so the prospects for industrial peace are at the moment as gloomy as the delegates to the A.F.L.-C.I.O. convention.

CONGO SELF-RULE

THE SWIFTNESS with which the visage of Africa is changing is exemplified in the latest plans for the Belgian Congo announced at Brussels and at the U.N. Here is a territory whose misrule was so flagrant back in the heyday of European colonial empires as to constitute an international scandal. The colonial policy of present-day Belgium has also been a source of some controversy because of the reluctance to work toward self-government, but the Congo's comparatively high living standards have been widely recognized. Too, the Church in that populous colony has been aided to carry out an extensive and beneficial school program.

Now within a few months' time the highly productive Belgian Congo is to take important steps toward genuine self-rule. The first elections by free and secret ballot and universal suffrage are to take place in December, and before March 1 powerful Provincial Councils are to be elected by members of the local urban and rural councils in six important provinces. The Belgians also promise that their Civil Service personnel in the Congo will gradually be Africanized. This appears to be one of the biggest new developments in the accelerated political emancipation of this restive continent.

PLUS AND MINUS

THE STRUGGLE for Negro rights goes on—gaining ground at one point, losing at another. Recent developments in Washington, for instance, indicate real progress and promise in the elimination of racial discrimination. Elsewhere, however, events have dimmed—even if temporarily—the prospects for school integration in the South.

In Washington, to take the better news first, Congress in its last hours extended the life of the Federal Civil Rights Commission and voted it a new appropriation of half a million dollars. Although the early inactivity of the Commission had roused widespread misgivings about its usefulness, its potential worth was established by the exhaustive report it submitted to the Congress and by its recommendations for legislative action.

These recommendations, which reveal remarkable agreement among the three Northern and three Southern members of the Commission, are directed primarily at local Southern interference with the Negro's right to vote. The Commission urged unanimously, for example, that the Civil Rights Act of 1957 be amended and strengthened. A further recommendation agreed to by all the members except former Governor Battle of Virginia, called for Presidential authority to establish temporary federal registrars where it had been established that citizens were being excluded from the voting rolls because of race.

This latter proposal has excited real or imagined fears of statism or infringement by the federal government on states' rights in the establishment of voting requirements. Any such encroachment on state prerogatives is, we agree, to be guarded against and resisted, but there seems little danger in the Commission's recommendation. The authority they describe is, first of all, carefully limited to national elections; also, local registrars would be displaced by federal appointees only when investigation had proved that Negroes were being unlawfully denied their vote; finally, the function of federal registrars would be merely to fulfill the

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requirements of local statutes; all that is necessary to escape the intrusion of Federal authority is observance of the law.

Other proposals by the Civil Rights Commission, concerned with the eradication of racial discrimination in education and housing, as well as at the polls, were less controversial, but all offered practical, if careful, procedures to advance the cause of Negro rights. There is no doubt that the civil rights bill promised for the next session of Congress will owe much to the Commission's work.

The less hopeful development in the struggle for Negro civil rights is the recent ruling by a U.S. Court of Appeals upholding the "pupil placement" law in Arkansas. These laws, part of the Southern effort to evade the Supreme Court ruling that segregation in public schools is unconstitutional, empower local school boards to assign pupils to specific schools on the basis of a long list of factors. Race is not one of the factors mentioned, but the grounds listed are so numerous and vague that a school board can easily find some reason for excluding Negroes from white schools.

To the unconcealed elation of segregationists, these laws have been upheld in every court test up to the present, and they effectively block any large-scale progress toward desegregation. The future of school integration in the South—in the short run, at least—seems now to hinge on what the Supreme Court will rule concerning these "pupil placement" laws.

And so the struggle continues, going now well and now badly. The significant thing, of course, is precisely that the struggle does continue and will continue. It cannot end until the victory is won—or until man abandons his vision of justice.

SOUTH AMERICA'S SEVEN

THERE IS A decided contrast between the efforts of the European Coal and Steel Community and those of the seven South American nations to set up common markets. The European nations are highly industrialized and most of them do enjoy rather widely distributed individual purchasing power. Their primary task is to eliminate inefficient mines and plants and to train the displaced workers—so that productively their fields, mines and factories will operate for the benefit of all the peoples who compose the Community. After that the group will try to draw other European nations into its common market, and ultimately to progress from continental free trade with regional tariff protection to free trade extended throughout the non-Communist world.

Ambitions of this scope have to be measured against present achievements. Right now, for example, the Coal and Steel Community is glutted with coal. This is not because of declining industrial activity, for the reverse is happily true, with a fine prospect for the production of durable consumers' goods. The heavy surplus of coal is the result of not taking into sufficient account the growing use of such competing fuels as oil and electricity produced by water power. Bound up in this miscalculation is the unwillingness of certain mineowners and workers (and of certain nations and localities) to abandon operations that are clearly uneconomic today. For nations with mature economies it is no easy matter to set up a common market.

For an underdeveloped continent such as South America the obstacles tower higher than the Andes. A few of these became manifest at the organizing sessions just concluded at Montevideo. Some bold outlines of a twelve-year timetable toward continental free trade were drawn up in committee but all participants agreed upon a delay, the only difference being whether it should be a short or a long one. It does require time and substantial demonstrated results before a nation that is economically hard-pressed—as they all are—can reach decisions on the basis of what would be best for a whole neighboring group of peoples.

Meanwhile our neighbors to the South are harassed by runaway inflation, wide fluctuations in the prices and demand for raw materials, which are the chief source of their foreign exchange, and other major disabilities. In country after country it is most difficult to get a program of sound industrialization off the ground. At the present stage effective consumer demand for a specific manufactured product in a single country would perforce be so limited as to make any venture set up to produce it there highly precarious. On the other hand the South American market as a whole could even now support many a new industry. Common agreements as to which country would make certain important specified items for the whole continent would therefore serve as a real spur to industrialization. When a degree of mass consumption has at last been reached in South America such agreements could be modified, but right now something of the sort is one of the essentials for getting under way.

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The Tight Money Squeeze

Is the current method of fighting inflation—tight money and high interest rates—the way to do it?

by HENRY S. REUSS

A FEW DAYS short of adjournment, the Democratic Congress handed the Republican Administration one of its few defeats of the 1959 session. By a nearly party-line vote, the House rejected 256-133 the Administration request for removal of the 4¼ per cent interest ceiling on United States bonds, a ceiling which has been in effect since 1918.

The vote was based mainly on instincts. The Republicans' instincts were with tight money and Andrew Mellon; the Democrats' instincts were with adequate money and Andrew Jackson. The larger question behind the controversy over the 4¼ per cent interest ceiling—the question of how *best* to fight inflation—has not been explored, either by the Administration or by Congress.

During the debate, Democrats pointed out that refusal to lift the 4¼ per cent ceiling would entail no disastrous consequences for Treasury financing. No Treasury obligations of more than five-year maturity come due until November 15, 1960. Refunding, the issuing of new securities to replace those that come due before then, can proceed without reference to any interest ceiling. And by November 15, 1960, Democrats hope that interest rates will be lower and that the Treasury will be able to sell obligations for less than 4¼ per cent.

Meanwhile, why permit the Treasury to saddle generations of future taxpayers with issues of thirty-year United States bonds at 5 or 6 per cent interest? For the next year, refunding operations can just as well be handled by issuing securities of five years or less, followed by their refunding at lower rates.

In short, Democrats argue that if the taxpayers are to pay more than 4¼ per cent on government borrowings, it is better to pay it on shorter-term obligations than to be stuck with high interest payments for ten, twenty, thirty or forty years.

The dust has partly settled on the interest ceiling issue for the moment. But the question remains: Is the Administration's method of fighting inflation—a policy of tight money and high interest rates—the way to do it?

HIGH INTEREST rates have been brought about in several ways. On numerous occasions the Treasury has put a higher interest coupon on a new issue than the market required. Then, too, the Federal Reserve has repeatedly raised rediscount rates—the rate which Federal Reserve Banks charge member banks for loans it makes to them. Most important of all, the increase in the money supply from 1954 to 1958 was held down to 6.6 per cent, compared with a 21.6 per cent increase in gross national product during this same period.

Sometimes the Administration tries to escape responsibility for high interest rates, asserting that these rates are simply the result of "supply and demand" for money. But this argument overlooks the fact that the Administration controls the supply of money through its power to create bank reserves and controls a good part of the demand for money through the borrowing and credit activities of the government.

Critics of Administration economic policy argue that a one-track tight money policy is far inferior to fiscal policy—the expenditure and taxing policy of the government—as a means of fighting demand inflation. A tight money policy, say these critics, retards economic growth, and it fails to make contact at all with some of the most disturbing actual price rises, where the trouble is not primarily excessive demand but interference on the supply side.

Let us look at the first proposition: that a policy of extreme monetary tightness is undesirable, and that better anti-inflationary results, with less damage to the

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over-all economy, can be obtained by a policy of fiscal tightness.

Monetary restraints operate by raising interest rates. By making it more expensive to borrow, this discourages activities which are most easily discouraged by high interest rates. In the main, these are activities, both private and public, which require long-term capital.

On the private side, this takes in the whole housing and construction industry. In 1952, a $10,000 F.H.A. mortgage at 4 per cent interest could be paid off over twenty-five years at a total cost of $15,840 (of which interest was $5,840. In 1959, the same mortgage, now at 5¼%, would cost $18,000 to pay off (of which interest is $8,000). The extra $2,160 would have bought another bedroom and bath.

Capital expenditures in new plant and equipment—particularly by small businesses—are likewise sensitive to high interest rates, and are likely to be curtailed. On the public side, state and local public works programs—vitally-needed schools, highways, hospitals—are stretched out, or cut out, because of higher interest rates. The dangerous effects of all this, on employment, on growth, on meeting national needs, are obvious.

BUT, one may ask, doesn't tight money restrain consumer spending as well as capital spending? All the evidence is that high interest rates restrain consumer spending only in a marginal way. Today's interest rates are the highest in a generation. Yet consumer spending is at an all-time record high. If interest rates are raised, down payments are reduced, the period of installments strung out from here to eternity, and few installment purchasers ever know the difference.

Nor do consumers tend to increase their savings substantially when interest rates rise. Today, for example, the over-all percentage of consumer savings has not expanded despite record-breaking interest rates. The Administration's obsession with monetary restraints therefore fights inflation at the expense of investment and national growth.

During 1947-52—with a policy of adequate money but fiscal tightness, resulting in a budget surplus of $12.4 billion—our growth was at the healthy rate of 4½ per cent a year. During 1953-58—a period of tight money but loose fiscal policies, resulting in a deficit of $8.5 billion—our growth rate declined to around 2 per cent a year. (Compare this with the 5 to 6 per cent growth rate achieved during the same period in Western Europe, and the 8 to 10 per cent achieved in the Soviet Union.)

Besides slowing our rate of growth, the Administration's combination of tight money and loose fiscal policies has reduced the management of the national debt to a shambles. Higher and higher interest rates have meant lower and lower market prices for outstanding United States securities. This is the largest single factor causing the present crisis in managing our $285 billion national debt.

If price stability, economic growth and a well-managed national debt are primary objects of national policy (as they should be), then there is a strong case for abandoning the Administration's tight money-fiscal laxity policy and substituting a policy of fiscal tightness and adequate money. A look at next year's budget can give us the outline of such a changed policy.

If the present recovery continues, there is no reason why the budget to be submitted in January of 1960 cannot adequately provide for the nation's needs and still show a surplus of $2 to $3 billion. If fat and waste are trimmed from the budget, particularly in the defense and farm programs, expenditures need not run substantially above the present year's $77 billion level. If the temptation is resisted to support a vote-catching election year tax reduction, present prospects are for a surplus of several billions.

The surplus could and should be increased—perhaps to $5 billion—by plugging some of the large loopholes in our tax structure: the oil depletion allowance, failure to report dividend and interest payments, and excessive entertainment deductions, for example.

A substantial federal surplus would in itself go far to bring an end to the present tight-money, high-interest, growth-discouraging position. The surplus could be used to retire some of the national debt. Banks and other lenders could use the funds thus obtained to make needed loans both to the private sector of the economy and to state and local governments. With credit more available, interest rates would go down. Growth would be spurred, and the national debt made more manageable.

HAPPILY, there are signs that forces in both the Administration and Congress are beginning to see the advisability of downgrading monetary policy and upgrading fiscal policy as a method of combatting demand inflation.

Henry Wallick, just appointed to the President's Council of Economic Advisors, had this to say at the Twenty-ninth Alumni Conference of the School of Business Administration, University of Michigan, on May 9, 1959: "The combination of fiscal-monetary policy that I envisage here is one of the surplus in the budget—you might call it a 'firm' budget policy—and, with a budget surplus, a relatively more relaxed monetary policy. This combination would favor growth because it means more saving and lower interest rates."

And Representative Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, the extremely hard-headed chairman of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee, has scheduled a series of

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hearings between now and January for a thoroughgoing overhauling of tax loopholes.

But even if the emphasis shifts from monetary to fiscal policy as a means of fighting inflation, attention must still be given to those areas of price rises which seem to occur because of what happens on the side of supply, rather than because of excess demand.

The Administration has virtually closed its eyes to administered prices as an inflationary factor. Yet it is clear that the largest part of our cost-of-living increase in recent years is a direct result of the practice of key industries, such as steel, autos and petroleum, to raise prices whether justified or not—a practice which can be foisted on the public because such industries are dominated by a few companies and a few men, and everybody goes along for the ride to higher profits.

There must be vigorous enforcement of the anti-trust laws to halt interlocking collusion against the public interest by administered pricing. In addition, it is high time that the government began to perform its duty as the public's fact-finder and educator in cases where industry-wide price increases, and related wage increases, may tend to be inflationary. There is need, I think, for legislation, such as that proposed by Senator Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania and myself, establishing government machinery to give the people the facts on profits, wages, prices and productivity in controversies of vital national concern, such as the current steel strike. A truly informed public opinion can have a moderating effect at the bargaining table.

Food prices to the consumer likewise continue to rise, despite drastic reductions in the family farmer's income. And at the same time the Department of Agriculture budget goes up and up, while thousands and thousands of farm families leave the land.

Obviously, our farm programs have not succeeded. Nearly everyone agrees that the piecemeal approach to the farm problem must be replaced with a total overhaul of agricultural legislation, and for months Congress has awaited Secretary Benson's new farm "package." But it has not come, and vetoes have met the admittedly piecemeal efforts of Congress to lessen the problem.

Perhaps the Brannan Plan is a term in disrepute. But having seen the agriculture experts and the farm organizations and farmers themselves unable to come up with a solution, I am willing to try almost anything different from what we have now. For why shouldn't food prices reflect what is happening in our farm economy, so that the consumer benefits from lower prices? And why shouldn't the family farmer who follows sound agricultural and conservation practices get direct help if he needs it? It could hardly cost more than the existing mess!

The cost of hospital and medical care is another area of major concern. Short supply, as well as increased demand, makes health care a fast climbing item of family expense, and our expanding, longer-living population adds to the problem. Increased research activity, which the government has helped to spur and which we clearly need, may add to the shortage of practicing physicians. Moreover, present population growth (three million a year) surpasses current projections of the rate of increase in medical school enrollment or in the number of physicians. And shortages already exist in many specialized areas of medicine, not to mention nursing and related health-care occupations.

To keep the cost of health care from skyrocketing further, we need more doctors, more nurses, more hospital facilities, more training facilities, more nursing homes, and more research. And, initially, we need more planning and coordination of private and public effort to attack the needs.

IF, THEREFORE, we are going to face our economic future at all, we must face it honestly, head-on, and in its many aspects. Capsuled slogans can of course fool the public (as well as the slogan writers), but they seldom serve the public interest. It is hardly the answer to shout repeatedly, as the Administration does, that it is against inflation and against spending. I know no one in Congress (and few outside it) who is *for* inflation, Democrat or Republican.

Of course there's room to argue how much to spend on what—and the public should know that the issue between Democrats and Republicans is not one of spending or not spending, but whether what we spend is meeting the priorities of our national needs and whether the taxpayer is getting his money's worth.

On the one hand, the President's defense, agriculture or foreign aid programs are not sacred cows, automatically beyond criticism. Nor, on the other hand, are such Congressionally-approved programs as urban renewal, housing, water pollution control, hospital construction and medical research to be considered beyond the needs or capabilities of the United States just because the Budget Bureau doesn't like them.

The economy of the United States must be strong if we are to meet the worldwide challenge of international Communism and still take care of our pressing domestic needs. This means sustained economic growth, maximum employment and price stability. The present Administration's policies have fallen short on all counts, and the heart of the problem is in the Administration's one-eyed view of inflation as the only evil, and of tight money as the only answer.

If we can only open the other eye, and get some depth perception, we will find there is more than one road leading away from inflation and toward growth and stability.

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THE ITALY THAT IS NOT CATHOLIC

Rome

IN THESE dispatches I have noted what I take to be the abiding Catholicism of Italy. But there is also a sense in which Italy is anything but a Catholic nation. In many aspects of the national life the influence of the French Enlightenment is at least as strong as the influence of the Church, and probably more so.

It must be remembered that it is still less than a century ago that Italy was unified and from the beginning of this effort there was bad blood between Church and State. The Popes were loath to give up their temporal claims in favor of the unification, an issue which inevitably became hopelessly entangled with theological doctrine. At the same time the unification movement, not surprisingly anti-clerical and hostile to the Vatican, embraced the era's free-thought dogmas and bitterly repudiated Italy's Catholic past.

The result was that right up to our own age Catholicism counted for little as a political influence in Italy. For years Catholics were forbidden by the Church to participate in the new nation's political life, while the Pope dramatically declared himself to be a prisoner in the Vatican. Not until Don Luigi Sturzo began his Popular Party after World War I was there any Catholic attempt to participate in the new republican order. But even that brave effort was ill-starred, for by that time Fascism had appeared on the scene and Don Sturzo, betrayed by shortsighted churchmen, was forced into exile. Not until 1929 was the Roman Question finally resolved, with the historic *Conciliazione* that created Vatican City. And though the solution in its way was brilliant, with the Church saving face and the State holding on to what it had taken, it did by no means mark the end of difficulties between Church and State. A decade or so later, the Pope issued an historic encyclical, complaining about the treatment the Church was receiving and the Fascist regime's disdain for its historic rights in education and the training of youth.

It was not really until after the Christian Democrats —the successors to Don Sturzo's Popular Party—came to power following World War II that the Cold War between Church and State abated in Italy.

But the Christian Democrats have never been really secure in their power. The socialist, anti-clerical tradition of the nation has been an influence to conjure with all along, and one the Demo-Christians can not ignore. Compromises have been necessary, and while the Christian Democrats, on the one hand, have been called puppets of the Vatican, they have on the other hand been strongly criticized by some ardent Italian Catholics for not asserting the Catholicism of Italy more forcefully in the face of the anti-clerical, doctrinaire humanists' exercise of leadership and the favor of the laws they still enjoy.

Though the socialist tradition is manifested by a number of parties, ranging from the mild centrist Marxists to the Communist Party extremes, the Christian Democrats have a monopoly on the Catholic tradition in Italian political life today. There is no place else for conscientious Catholics to turn, though many, disappointed with Demo-Christian performance, would desperately prefer an alternative.

Here, in this situation, an American again sees the virtue in our non-ideological political parties. One also has an even keener appreciation for our First Amendment, which separates Church and State but does not put any sword of enmity between them. On this score, we have much to teach the Italians, theologians included. One can, however, understand the continental theologians' suspicion of the doctrine of separation, for the principle has been seen by them as a barrier against the freedom of the Church. Generally speaking, it has not been, as with us, a source of liberation. Yet it surely would do no harm for us American Catholics to remind our continental brethren periodically that nowhere is the Church more free than in the United States, where separation is not a philosophic or theological doctrine but an instrument of civic peace.

The big problem for the Church in Italy today is that Catholicism is not a truly significant intellectual force in the nation. In all Italy, for example, there is only one Catholic university, the fairly new Sacred Heart in Milan. The predominant influences, outside the clergy, in the other universities tend to be more or less hostile, if not to the nation's Catholic culture, at least to the philosophy of the Church. Modern Italian Catholic writers and thinkers are notably sparse, and the influence of what might be called the post-Christian intelligentsia is all out of proportion to their actual numbers. It may seem incredible, but it is true that Catholicism is regarded as a minority sect in much of the nation's intellectual and cultural life.

In France, it is perhaps true that the Church has lost the workers. But in Italy, the more significant loss is this loss of intellectual leadership. In literature, in education, in political life, the loss is especially evident. In this special sense, it may not be an exaggeration to suggest that the United States is actually a more Catholic nation than Italy. For slowly, painfully but surely, the prodigious American Catholic effort in education is producing leaders the whole Catholic world will be proud of, and it will be a leadership strengthened—one might even say purified—by the American experience of genuine political freedom.

JOHN COGLEY.

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An analysis of the issues now confronting the British voter

Britain to the Polls

by MICHAEL P. FOGARTY

THE BRITISH General Election is about two things. The first is how to run a welfare state which is also an Affluent Society. No party challenges the basic idea of the Welfare State, that the State should plan the over-all economy and take responsibility for the people's welfare. But each has had to adapt to the fact that in the last few years Britain has ceased to be a rationed society and has become a nation of consumers.

There is little disagreement about what things are to be done. Consumers are to be educated in making selections and their choices are to be protected by better marking of goods and stiffer laws against fraud. Consumers like cars, which have markedly increased, and all parties are now staking astronomical sums on new motorways. When commercial television came in the Labor Party fought it tooth and nail. But consumers turned out to like it. Labor still wants to allot any extra channels to a public corporation, but the idea of putting commercial television out of business has dropped. Youth is no longer to be bored; there are to be more sports fields, swimming pools, and adventure scholarships, and a Sports Council to see that these things are provided. All parties have suddenly discovered an interest in art; theater, music, painting, and architectural design. And it looks as if we shall have a National Theatre at last.

All parties propose to make home purchase easier, to modernize or replace obsolete housing, and to spend more on the National Health Service. All propose more spending on the schools, Youth Service, technical colleges, and universities. They also advocate a more flexible school structure, with less rigid, and often arbitrary, segregation of children by presumed ability and interest and more freedom of parents' choice—or at least no less, which for Labor is a concession.

The Labor Party has dropped, though with a bad grace, its attempt to eliminate or absorb into the State system Eton, Ampleforth, and the rest of the so-called public schools. All parties also back the extension, alongside State social insurance, of collectively bargained and other voluntary plans for pensions, sick pay, and severance pay or supplementary unemployment benefit.

All agree, finally, that these good things depend on an expanding economy, based on scientific research (Conservatives and Labor both want a Minister of Science), massive investment, stable prices, and easy adaptation.

THE BIG question is, how are these things to be accomplished? The limits are narrow. No British party is challenging the principle of the Welfare State, and the consumer economy sets limits to what any party can propose in the way of planning and controls. But within these limits there is a sharp difference between Labor on the one side and Liberals and Conservatives on the other. Labor puts the accent on the State rather than the citizen and on central rather than local government. It supports personal ownership of homes and other non-productive property, but has no proposals for wider ownership of shares or other business assets. It has, on the contrary, a long shopping-list for public ownership. This includes re-nationalization of steel and road transport, nationalization of other, unspecified industries or sections of them, State acquisition of equity shares in the five to six hundred biggest companies, and municipal ownership of all rented housing below a fairly high limit of value. The effect of this last proposal would be to bring over half the housing of the country into public ownership. The Liberals, on the contrary, make Ownership for All—employee shareholding, easier Stock Exchange facilities, unit trusts, home ownership, insurance—the main plank in their program. The Conservatives press this less hard, but follow essentially the same line.

Liberals and Conservatives expect the dynamism of the economy to come from its grass roots, from the initiative of individual managements, backed by management-worker cooperation and educational measures by the State. In particular, they reject attempts to stimulate the economy by inflation. Labor on the contrary calls for more drive from the top, to be transmitted to the five or six hundred big companies through a new code of relations between the State and private business, to be imposed if necessary by revising the

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Company Acts. Labor too is aware of the dangers of inflation, but is prepared to take bigger risks with it in order to stimulate production.

Though Labor does not currently intend to destroy independent schools, it dislikes them, whereas the Conservatives see in them a useful challenge and stimulus to the State system. Some Liberals (but this is not yet official Liberal policy) would like to see the whole finance of education shifted onto a basis of grants to parents, to be spent at the school of the parent's choice. (To avoid misunderstanding, let me add that the independent schools which the Labor Party dislikes are not the Church schools. The main body of Catholic, Church of England, and Presbyterian schools are inside the State system, and all parties take an increasingly favorable attitude to them.) Whereas, finally, the Conservatives support decentralization from central to local government, and the Liberals want parliaments for Wales and Scotland, the Labor Party has been highly unsympathetic to both.

THE LABOR preference for centralization rests on three judgments. First, it is said that production needs more central management than the other parties allow. It is simply a fact, Labor would say (and, unfortunately, with much truth), that there is not enough dynamism in British management to keep the economy moving forward as fast as the consumer economy requires without State pressure, including the stimulus of easy money. Secondly, what Conservatives sometimes call the Opportunity State—education to the limit of everyone's ability, the career open to talents in a competitive society—leads simply to a new class society, a meritocracy replacing or rather fusing with the older aristocracy and plutocracy. If British society is to respect the dignity and basic equality of its people, State action is needed to keep the bridges open between classes, for example by encouraging common schooling, or checking commercialism on T.V. Thirdly, the current labor thesis continues, consumers amid the bewildering variety of choices today need education and help. The mass boredom of young people and the worship of the washing machine will be overcome only by firm leadership on behalf of society as a whole.

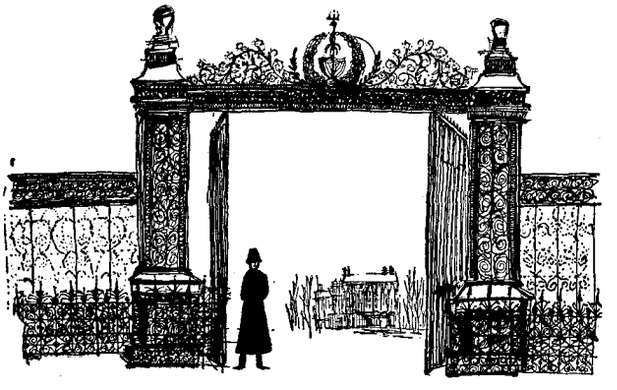
Liberals and Conservatives, on the other hand, rest their policy on the principle of subsidiary function. People should do and be helped to do what they can for themselves within a framework of over-all planning. These parties like to talk of a Responsible Society in which people will make their decisions for themselves with guidance on the public interest and with responsibility for the public interest as well as their own.

The other issue that the impending election is being fought about is Britain's course in world affairs. But this comes through much less clearly, for here the sharpest division is between the Liberals, who are the weakest of the three main parties, and the Conservatives. The position of the Labor Party, the Conservatives' main challenger, is shifting and confused.

All parties agree on certain things. They support the United Nations. They wish to negotiate for disarmament and any other relaxations of tension that the Russians or Chinese may concede, but also to keep up the Western alliances, especially N.A.T.O., and to do nothing that would make Western defense against Communism ineffective. They propose to go on liquidating colonialism as quickly as possible, and to help less developed countries on an increasing scale. There is much open dispute about these things, but little ultimate disagreement. The Labor Party is formally in favor of disengagement and the Conservatives formally against it. But I agree with Dr. Adenauer that there is probably not much to choose between Macmillan and Gaitskell when it comes to the actual conference table.

In colonial policy the Conservatives tend to be hamhanded compared to Liberals and Labor. Suez is still defended, and Conservative policy in Cyprus or in Central and East Africa has tended to lag behind events. But in the end the Conservatives get and mean to get to the same place as the other parties. Ghana and Malaya have achieved independence under Conservative rule, Cyprus, Nigeria, and the West Indies are on the edge, several other territories are approaching it.

The difference arises over two intertwined questions, the independence of Britain's role in world affairs and the H-bomb. The Liberal Party believes in world government. It values the Commonwealth, but recognizes that it can today be no more than a loose association. As a first step to more effective international government it would like to see Britain join the European Common Market and other European supra-national institutions. It is also willing to give up such independent status as the possession of the H-bomb gives Britain, so long as the use of the Western bomb is internationally controlled. Two nuclear powers, in the Liberals' view, are already two too many, and there is no need for more than one on the Western side. Britain should take the more expensive and personally demand-



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ing course of building up its conventional forces within the Western alliance, though also continuing to make a contribution to nuclear defense by basic research.

The Conservative Party recognizes, certainly, that absolute independence of action in foreign affairs is a myth, even more today than in the past. But its publications insist on the possibility of at least minor independent action, notably in the Middle East, if not perhaps on the scale of Suez. It thinks that to have the bomb and be prepared to use it, even, in certain conditions, before it has been used by the enemy, gives Britain independent standing in foreign affairs and the discussion of nuclear disarmament. It will go as far as free trade with Europe, but rejects the Common Market and in principle (in practice it is getting closer and closer to it) supra-national government.

The Labor Party hangs in between. It agrees with the Conservatives in rejecting supra-national government in a Europe that (I quote a recent Labor *Talking Point*) "would tend to be dominated by the right-wing governments of the present members and the industrialists of the Ruhr." But it is tending more and more to the Liberal view on the bomb. It has not (like the Liberals) reached the point of giving up the British bomb unconditionally. But its official aim is a non-nuclear club in which Britain would take its place alongside other countries in an attempt to limit the bomb to Russia and the United States. There is steady pressure from the left, and by this I mean the Christian and radical as well as the pacifist or Communist left, for unconditional British renunciation of the bomb and a guarantee that Britain and other Western countries will not use it first. Which party is going to win? I leave that to the pollsters. But I shall vote Liberal.

REMARKABLE NEW FILM

Polish Self-Portrait

by MARYVONNE BUTCHER

THE UNINHIBITED welcome given to Vice President Nixon on his arrival in Warsaw was a typically Polish gesture of defiance. No one, certainly, would call this a *cautious* way of doing things, in view of the ever-present reality of Soviet power. Press reports of the event made me conscious all over again of how well the Poles have learned over the centuries to walk the most hazardous of tightropes with an air of unconcern that is close to arrogance.

During the last two months we here in London have had an exceedingly good example, cinematically speaking, of this classic, unbreakable Polish spirit in Wajda's latest and most brilliant film, "Ashes and Diamonds" *(Popio e Diament)*. I decided to see it again after reading about the scenes in Warsaw, wondering if I should find it as overwhelming an experience as I had the first time. If anything, it was more impressive at the second seeing.

Wajda is a young man, and he prefers to speak for his own generation, a generation which in Poland has had, perhaps, more searing and fearful experiences than in any other country in the world.

After suffering the most vicious of all the Nazi occupations, the trauma of the ill-fated Warsaw Rising, and the subsequent iron fist of the Russians, it is little less than a miracle that the Poles of Wajda's generation have won through to the present precarious *détente* of the Gomulka regime with their spirit unimpaired. But you have only to see "Ashes and Diamonds" to realize that unimpaired it most certainly is.

Wajda, preserving an almost Aristotelian respect for the unities, crams the whole of the action of his newest work into something less than twenty-four hours—twenty-four hours which begin on the morning of May 7, 1945, when Germany has just made her unconditional surrender and Poland can, it might be supposed, consider herself free once more. But can she?

We see three young men, lounging in the thin spring sunshine by a little wayside shrine in the lark-haunted countryside. They have sten-guns by their sides, and they are waiting to liquidate a fellow-Pole, the District Party Secretary, newly-arrived from Moscow. These young men belong to the Polish Home Army, and for them until Communists as well as Germans are gone, Poland is not free at all. (This, mind you, is a satellite country where the film must be approved by the central governing body for the cinema.)

As the three lie there, their young, strained faces in closeup, a small child with a posy wanders along and asks them to open the chapel door for her. They try but it is locked, so they lift her up and she leaves her flowers at the statue of Our Lady in the niche outside. The jeep is sighted, the killers take up their positions and do their horrid job with horrid efficiency, then

Miss Butcher, a frequent contributor, is an English film critic who writes for *Blackfriars*, the London *Tablet* and other publications.

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hurry back to town thinking it all over. We know, however, that they have shot the wrong men, two quite unimportant cement workers, for the Party Secretary comes along later and, looking down with deep compassion on the two dead men, explains to their mates that this kind of thing is bound to happen until Poland is herself again—or anew.

The point that Wajda makes, and with complete objectivity, is that most of the characters in his picture are genuine patriots. The two young men and their impersonal chief, the weary, compassionate Party boss, even the aging and hopeless representatives of the *ancien régime* we meet later—they all honestly love their country and think their way is the best way. This capacity to put all sides of the question, to commit yourself explicitly or implicitly to none of them, would be a remarkably austere achievement on the part of any director; for a Pole today it is amazing.

The two young killers, back in town, and already sickened by their job, are appalled to find that they must start all over again to murder the quiet, kindly —yes, fatherly—Szczuka. The younger, Maciek, is joined in his hotel room by a girl, and briefly, in a passage of great poetic intensity, they have their hour together, an hour whose effect is only heightened by ironic interruptions from the inexorable present—Maciek's surreptitious hunt for a missing part of his gun while making love to the girl, or the sound of Szczuka's cane when he returns to his room next door.

In the end Maciek leaves the girl, steels himself to kill again (his twisting hands show how unwillingly), and his victim dies in a travesty of an embrace in the boy's arms. Maciek runs, is shot in his turn and lurches away, staining the streets red as he goes, to die, kicking and whimpering, on a rubbish heap, curled into a fetal pose that emphasizes tragically his unlived life and fatal youth in today's Poland.

THROUGHOUT Wajda's work there is the striking, conflicting, interweaving devotion to Poland—on the part of Communists, traditionals, and nationalists. And there is the feeling, shared by both quarry and hunters, that there has been more than enough killing, that it leads to no conclusion and is all the worse now that it has become fratricidal. And yet, how to stop? "Everyone," one of them says, "is responsible to someone," and the right orders never come.

The Poles in the story also share the feeling that the best men are already dead. The two young anti-Communist patriots set light to glasses of vodka, one for each of their dead friends; they flicker like sanctuary lights, and only two are left unlighted. The Communist Szczuka in his turn intones something like a litany of his dead comrades. Both sides feel that they are left alone—and doomed—to carry on a struggle in which they have long since lost faith. Hamlets to a man, they seem to protest that the world is out of joint and it is indeed a cursed spite that ever they were born to set it right.

Finally, and very interesting to the Catholic, is the way in which religion recurs. Almost the first thing we see when the film starts is the cross on top of the chapel, silhouetted against the sky. After the first ambush, one of the wounded men crawls to the door of the chapel, is shot again, and as he sinks slowly to his knees the door, which would not open for the little girl and her flowers, creaks ajar under the fusillade and we see, from *inside* the chapel, the kneeling figure with outstretched arms keeling over in death. And when Maciek and his girl take shelter from the rain in a bombed church, we see a mutilated crucifix between us and the young lovers, the remote, tortured face on the cross a silent observer of their—and Poland's—tragedy.

Wajda's film has already created considerable stir, and Marxist critics here have denounced it as a decadent piece of work. It is easy to see what an embarrassment it must be to dedicated Communists, no matter on which side of the iron curtain. But for the rest of us it is a message of hope, a small light at least in a dark picture. That "Ashes and Diamonds" should come from Poland, from the other side of the political moon, makes it as exciting a symptom as it is a film.

An Essay Upon Excess

By WILLIAM SYLVESTER

A Unitarian from New England
visits a popish church
in the midwest . . .
. . . just to make sure . . .

Here I stand, confronted by offense.
The Queen of Heaven, Mary, smirks in cobalt;
A saint, surprised, bears ketchup on his chest;
The stations of the cross have dimpled cheeks;
The melting candles smell of penny candy;
The vox humana mocks the worst of Chopin.
Out of tune, the lights skim surfaces
Through the twistings of this pseudo-Spain.
The windows cut cute snaps from Holy Scenes.

The eye is not seduced, no matter what
The unbelievers say. Bad luck might let
One love a drug-store red above the altar:

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Bon sens is baffled, sullen, and aloof.
Well-bred theology admits the prayers
Of reasoned men who contemplate statistics.
That drunk, now, dribbling down his swollen lip,
Swaying upon his knees, in Lexington
Would lend a continental touch to gutters
Or moan behind discreetly painted shutters.
We proffer isolation and a chair.
"But are you meeting people?" we inquire.

In the modest mountains of New Hampshire
The green recedes and curves with decent sweetness,
A touch of lavender to distant trees.
The single spire sustains a small soprano
In a madrigal of praise, a clear
Latinity, the overtones lost in time.
The weathered stone is lichen-ripe, and gathered
From thin soil, so sheep may safely graze.

In that archaic loveliness, the hinges
are H's, sturdy black on white; the land
Will yield a bit to men who are serene.
The day rises to noon; a locust hums
Among narcotic pines. A squirrel pauses—
Scratches from branch to branch. A sunfish flashes
In water that is rightly called a pond
Until night sheds a chill and we can see
Above the hills a portion of the stars.

A little bit west's a long way back in time:
A whitened church, misleadingly austere,
Hides a yawning monster of baroque;
The bannister feels like a thigh, the way it curves.
Climbing those steep steps the pastors bowed,
Then straight they stood against the wooden rays
Of gold, provoking blood in Everyman.
The colors now are faded and the Man
From God declines to merely man. The darkness
Thins to a gray and gay This-world-liness.

Protesting goes too far at times, it seems,
As in the clink of Californian gilt,
Or in that colony of ours, called Kansas.

Kansas—flattened by primal seas and glaciers,
Harrowed by men and weather—grays in the sun.
Lo, the poor Kansan, whose untutored mind
Sees self in clouds, hears Daddy in the wind;
Meets arguments with inward turning eyes
And sets destruction to a nasal ditty.

But his dominion ends not with the river:
The refuse thickens, so the rainbows on
The trout grow dim, and catfish snuggle down.
Girls like fullbacks wrestle out the aches
Of spring, while watched by Beowulfs in jeans.

"He gat no glee—from that fearful fight—
Truth is—I don't feel too good myself."

Oh where is the drunken laughter of yesteryear?
(Promoted now and in another city.)
Oh where, the contradicting indignations
That threatened Hitler with an Oxford oath?
Where now are loyalty and foolishness?
Whither, oh gardenia-scented girls?
(Gone to the P.T.A. to state their case:
A pure protesting "depends on how you feel.")

At fifty, corroded by fretting, we contemplate
The rubbery colors of suburbia,
The glaucous minds of the mortgaged young
Who stream forth in magenta flavored flivvers,
A synthetic jargoning that echoes even
Upon the surface of a strange cathedral.

All desolate Americans must long
For Mexico: to strut in scarlet spilled
With silver; a mannish grace, a female's strength;
To see the sunlight quiver on porcelain,
To hear the brass wail opera to the palms.
In golden yawning domes the devils drown
With stony taste among acanthus leaves
And mountainous moods brood upon ochre flames.
Oh for a stomach strong enough for chili.
A mexified New Englander? How silly.

For Bacchus, Mexico, Byzantium,
We have a two-week visit to the Cape.
One beach was warmer than a bath, and sweaty,
A cluttering of armpits in the sun.
The clams were tepid, and, I think, imported:
A touch of chlorine makes the whole world safe.

Farther out, past Wellfleet's weathered wisdom,
Where coarse grass struggles in the sepia sand,
A noble dolphin traced a silent arc.
The yellow dawn gray thin, roughened to pink,
Then red, abruptly wiped away by winds
That twisted waves up in a leaden heave,
Wove non-moral salt into our hair,
Crowned our temples, haunted our blood in spring,
But left inviolate those lightless depths
Of jewels, submarines, and Roman jars;
Of skeletons where sightless monsters nap.

Absconded God! Forgive frivolity.
Forgive the grin in lieu of friendliness,
The sliding ease with which we use deceit.
Forgive the fidgets that we call success,
Forgive the fripperies of argument.
The abyss sustains and calibrates us all
When night-struck pomp becomes a simple calm.

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OF NOTE

SHARING THE SAME BOOK

IN THE August-September issue of *Worship* (Collegeville, Minn. $4. a year), Fathers Bernard Orchard, O.S.B., and Edmund Flood, O.S.B., discuss current trends and prospects in Catholic and Protestant biblical scholarship. An excerpt from their article follows:

In the field of Catholic worship, it is certain that the intelligible use of Scripture will more and more return to its rightful place. Father A. Bea, S.J., himself a consultor of the Congregation of Rites, told the Assisi Congress that Pius XII was doing his utmost to continue the plan of Pius X, interrupted by the wars, "to lead the faithful to the second table prepared for them by the Lord, the table of the word of God."

His own speech allows us to see how earnest this striving is. He was deeply aware not only that the reading and explanation of Scripture is the ancient (and best) Catholic way of preparing the faithful for the Eucharist, but also that it is, for most Catholics, the only regular form of instruction they receive.

And one of the greatest authorities on the liturgy, Father Cyprian Vagaggini, believes that the permission for the priest to read the gospel and epistle directly in the vernacular at public Masses (as well as the people's singing in that language at sung Mass) may well be the next stage in the evolution towards the whole of the first part of the Mass being permitted in the native tongue.

A secondary result of such a measure, especially if it was based on a deeper knowledge of the Bible, would be a closer alignment between Catholic and Protestant. This alignment would be further promoted if another proposal of recent years was accepted. This is none other than the project of a common critical and objective edition of the Bible for the use of all who call themselves Christians. If we are to share the same table we must not only have the same idea of the sacrament but we must also share the same loaf—not each bring his own separate food—and share the same definition of the Bread.

The Reformation not only destroyed the unity of the Christian conception of the Eucharist, but through the rejection of the living authority of the Church led to many different, tendentious and propagandist versions and new translations of the Bible which have reflected at least in some degree the differences of faith and outlook. The tendentious use of the word "presbyter" instead of the Old English "priest" in some Protestant Bibles is one of the examples that comes to mind. Nevertheless, the twentieth century is seeing the revision of the old traditional translations by Protestant biblical authorities in a completely critical and scholarly temper, avoiding as far as possible all theological preconceptions.

The most recent and best in the English-speaking world is the Revised Standard Version which in 1957 was brought to completion by the careful revision of the deuterocanonical books, roughly speaking identical with the Protestant apocrypha. The result is a scholarly rendering of Scripture which is a delight to read and with very little editing could be made entirely acceptable to English-speaking Catholics (prescinding of course from the historical and religious prejudices and various other interests, financial or racial, which might render such an editing inexpedient at the present juncture).

The rearrangement of the Revised Standard Version in the order, number and content of the sacred books as sanctioned by the Council of Trent would seem to present no insuperable difficulties, whilst the number of actual changes deemed necessary to make its text conform to Catholic theology and scriptural usage would also seem, according to the investigations of a recent committee of Catholic scholars, to amount to less than a score.

If such a Catholic edition of the Revised Standard Version could appear with ecclesiastical sanction it would not of course be a new Common (or Vulgate) edition of the Bible, not only on account of the score of textual differences but also because the juridical claim of the Catholic Church to the control of the Bible as such is not recognized by other non-Catholic religious bodies.

It would, however, be an enormous step towards achieving unity of mind and thought among divided Christendom. Nor is it beyond the bounds of possibility that further consultation might lead to the elimination of all textual differences between the two editions in a comparatively short time. Anyhow, each religious organization would want to keep its own historical version for its own liturgy.

But for the purposes of public debate, for radio and television talks, and whenever it is necessary to put forward a particular viewpoint in an irenic fashion, the Common or near-Common version would have great advantages.

Nor need it be the cause of any "scandal" to the faithful. For just as we are prepared to convert a pagan or heretical building to public worship by suitable alterations, so we may safely adapt a version of the Bible, prepared indeed by men with heretical views but who are also men pursuing the truth of the divine Word with the same single-minded candor as ourselves —provided only that their work has been suitably examined, and, after due modification, approved as blameless by episcopal authority. . . .

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If we are frank about our differences, while endeavoring to increase our similarities, we shall certainly be contributing best to the reunion of Christendom. If our similarities could include a version of the Bible accepted by both Catholic and Protestant, no small step would have been advanced, we think, towards that goal.

COMMUNICATIONS

FREEDOM AND PARENTHOOD

Milwaukee, Wis.

TO THE EDITORS: Reviewer Edwin Kennebeck may be right in taking exception [Sept. 11] to Mr. Peter DeVries's dismissal of "free souls" as people who do not quite measure up to the demands of responsibility and parenthood. But as Mr. Kennebeck objects to Mr. De Vries, parents may object to Mr. Kennebeck, who sees the De Vries paean to parenthood as a "message celebrating the ordinary."

Equations of domesticity with "mediocrity" leave at least one parent wearier than any number of nights on duty with a new baby. Granted that no "free soul" finds attraction in the dishes, diapers and dust of suburbia; granted that few of the unfettered see beyond these by-products of the "ordinary" (but often happy) household. Even so, are motherhood and fatherhood to be sniffed at?

On the other hand, so many Catholic periodicals praise parenthood in terms more excessive than Mr. De Vries's that perhaps The Commonweal and Mr. Kennebeck deserve a round of grateful applause for introducing a new note. JEAN HOLZHAUER.

"MEDICAL NEEDS"

New York, N. Y.

TO THE EDITORS: The editorial in your issue of Sept. 11 entitled "Medical Needs" touches upon the problem of protection against the biggest single threat to personal economic disaster remaining in our quasi-welfare state, namely major disability through illness or injury. That is why health economics is a prime concern of so many today.

In this connection, I'm afraid your remark about the "expanding services" of Blue Cross is somewhat misleading. It may be that Blue Cross will come to this; it has not so far and there are powerful forces militating against it. Blue Cross operates on the principle of community rating, as opposed to the commercial insurance carriers' experience rating. This means it offers the whole community the same rate and attempts to accommodate nearly all in the community. The result is that it has a very high proportion of the infirm aged. The insurance companies cover employee groups, for the most part, groups relatively free of poor risks, to which it can accordingly offer lower rates than Blue Cross. In consequence Blue Cross covers two-thirds of the fifteen million in the 65-years-plus group who have some kind of health insurance, although so far as the total population is concerned, Blue Cross covers fewer people than the insurance industry. Hence Blue Cross is constantly under pressure to raise its rates. The national plans had a $40 million deficit last year.

Blue Cross can resolve this impasse created by its principle of community rating only by becoming a monopoly in health insurance—but then, of course, we would have socialized medicine run by functionaries we couldn't vote in or out. If Blue Cross attempts to compete with the commercial insurance carriers by a selective-risk approach (i.e., experience rating) then it abandons its public service, non-profit philosophy, for it would fail to serve the very needs of the community that brought it into being.

Furthermore, Blue Cross has demonstrated very little leadership in expanding or revising its service because of fear of organized medicine, on the one hand, and lack of initiative in hospital reform on the other. In the first instance, any move which seems to infringe upon the traditional preserve of the private physician, such as covering services in outpatient facilities of the hospital, services hitherto rendered in the doctor's office, invites the condemnation of the doctors and of Blue Cross's younger and smaller cousin, Blue Shield. In the second instance, Blue Cross has never taken the leadership to make fundamental reforms in the design and administration of the hospitals, that is, in providing services for preventive and restorative care as well as curative care. On the contrary, the weakness of Blue Cross is that by covering only institutional care it has frustrated greater emphasis upon prevention and rehabilitation and has led to the abuse of over-utilization of hospitals, a development that has done much to swell the general medical bill. Blue Cross has passed the buck to the hospitals, saying, in effect, "you provide a comprehensive medical care package and we'll cover it." But hard-pressed individual hospitals can't undertake to do this; it requires the leadership of Blue Cross, which is the most important single factor in the over-all hospital system.

The least that Blue Cross could do would be to cover outpatient diagnostic care and, secondly, to substitute home-nurse units for days-of-hospital-benefits, especially for those over 65 years of age. They have made tentative gropings in this direction; a real breakthrough in the nature of the basic Blue Cross contract with subscribers is what's required. Maybe it can't be done. It has yet to be tried sufficiently to settle the question.

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(Excerpt from a missionary's letter)

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In the testimony on the proposed Forand Bill this year (for extending hospital and certain medical services to social security beneficiaries), Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Flemming brought out that at best private insurance (including Blue Cross) will not succeed in covering more than seventy per cent of the aged population, even at present growth rates, by 1965. That is why so many feel government action should not be postponed and that actually such intervention is not only the most equitable solution to what is a community-wide problem but is also the best way to preserve the bulk of the health insurance market for private auspices. These private institutions, and preeminently Blue Cross, had better get cracking if they expect to enjoy their present role in our medical system. The people have a way of satisfying important social needs, even if the horrible expedient is to turn ultimately to their government.

EDWARD T. CHASE.

"THE DISINHERITED"

St. Louis, Mo.

TO THE EDITORS: Mr. John Stanley's description of the results of extremes of economic inequality [July 31] must excite sympathy for those in the least favored position, but surely he intended to do more than arouse sympathy. I suggest that his latter paragraphs can be construed in two ways. He may have meant that to the extent that all men become animated by the charity of Christ the grosser inequalities among them will tend to disappear. So they will. I can even tell him when they will disappear: it will be the day after the Last Day.

But perhaps Mr. Stanley meant that the perpetuation of economic inequality can be prevented by positive law and the use of public force. Lenin tried this in the early days of his rule. The next attempt, no doubt, will produce a community in which poverty and obedience (but hardly chastity) will be enforced upon all by the police—a Devil's monastery indeed. In the very nature of things economic equality cannot subsist with individual freedom, family, private property, and the development of civilized life. You cannot pile up a heap without having someone on the bottom of it.

The effects of original sin (the Old Adam) are very much with us, and an attempt to compete with the followers of Rousseau and Marx as if those effects were not still with us is a great folly in a Christian. He should know where and how to look for perfection. He has been plainly taught. HENRY J. MOHRMAN.

Buffalo, N. Y.

TO THE EDITORS: One can add nothing to what Mr. Stanley wrote in "The Disinherited" [July 31]. What he has written is not new, certainly, but it seems

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to me that he has infused simply and directly an attitude that is painfully lacking in many of the people who are concerned enough to make it a life work. I mean the social worker, psychologist, psychiatrist and various other specialties. I understand fully that the "professional" concern is far different from what Mr. Stanley would indicate. Perhaps it must be this way. However, too often one loses sympathy with the professional because his caring appears directed away from, rather than toward, the individual. The program, the agency, the clinic become all important, the screening is geared for the individual to meet the requirements and the emphasis is on his making it, not on him as a person.

Of course, Mr. Stanley was not concerned with specific program, but his words should be listened to all the more. What he is telling us is too often thought of by many people as old stuff, but actually it is never old stuff. I want to thank Mr. Stanley for reminding me of this.

JOSEPH J. BERILACQUA.

THE STEEL STRIKE

Tucson, Ariz.

TO THE EDITORS: In the September 4th *Communications* section, Mr. John J. Lonsbury's gloss of what I said in my column, "Who Should Talk for Steel," departs so radically from what I thought I said that discussion may seem fairly futile. Nevertheless, one must object to serving as a straw man for careless liberal pummeling, and then it may be possible to rescue at least some small part of an actual argument.

Mr. Lonsbury asserts that "the thesis of Mr. Philip Burnham [is] to say that the 'public interest' should be represented by 'the individual's free choice in the competitive market.' Represented where? . . . "not only at the bargaining table in the steel dispute but in all major sectors of the economy!"

This, of course, is not my thesis, and I did not say it.

The column was undoubtedly written against turning one's back on market competition, and it concluded by suggesting the possibility of improving and vivifying a free economy by distributist efforts. It did attempt to warn against utopia and excessive statism; against killing geese with golden eggs and strangling birds at hand. It nowhere proposed that the public interest is fully and satisfyingly served by some naive policy of jungle-esque *laissez faire* which Mr. Lonsbury, without citation, attributes to me.

Objecting to the rather absurd notion "that there actually is no ceiling or limit on the profits of steel companies," I pointed out that "competition sets some limit," which is mild and obvious enough to be a truism, except that in the heat of argument it is sometimes forgotten. Going further—into the sluggish and obscure relations of prices, wages, profits and investments—I observed that "the public interest is supposed to be represented quite directly by the individual's free choice in the competitive market." This statement is true, and so far as I know undisputed, so far as it actually goes, which is a somewhat hypothetical and limited distance. What more direct personal economic action would be possible (except total do-it-yourself) than free selection and purchase in an open market of one commodity among many which are offered, or of one block of ownership, token of debt, etc.? My slight column nowhere proposed this vastly important, but nevertheless particular, direct expression of public interest as the sole solution for all the problems of the American political economy.

The "public interest," indeed, is a difficult term. It does not appear to be an "entity," as Mr. Lonsbury holds, with some kind of free-standing character and existence, which some expert can introduce and represent, *in toto*. It seems to me that the greatest number of real, living persons there are who act effectively and responsibly in the economy, the more likely will the economy serve the ethical and philosophical concepts and relationships of the common good and interest. The public interest is not a matter for remote control by government officials or benevolent partisans. It involves far more than ground rules for collective bargaining, or Mr. Lonsbury's profit and productivity reports to the Government: it involves, to be sure, the entire inheritance of culture and civilization which a people possesses.

A considerable portion of my "thesis" was taken up noting forces of public interest and authority and responsibility which appear to be actually operating in the steel negotiations, indirectly as well as directly. No man at the bargaining table, I thought, was an island, pirate-free from the ties of public concern. The bargaining table itself is not a flying object soaring beyond the gravitational field of the local world and nation, but an institution in the structure of the company's society and history and law. Etc. Mr. Lonsbury does not deny, but simply disregards.

The column did say, "Government is not the inevitable executor of 'public policy.' Liberty and efficiency would both be menaced by setting up the government in the key spot of answering all the debatable economic and welfare questions of the steel industry." Perhaps the shock of such an expression of skepticism now causes a censor-reaction. The visibility or words and sentences that accompany such a statement may be disastrously reduced for readers pre-committed to central government action . . . who often give the impression that they really do believe they invented the concept of the public good. PHILIP BURNHAM.

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Perceptive Exploration of Modern French Fiction

THE ART OF FRENCH FICTION. By Martin Turnell. New Directions. $6.

By ANNE FREMANTLE

THE LONDON *Listener* has described the final effect of Martin Turnell's criticism as one of "tremendous exhilaration," and has further noted that he illumines his subject with "deep reverence and extensive erudition." He certainly is not only one of the most perceptive, but one of the most creative, critics of this century: he writes with a compassionate courage that informs every well thought and well wrought sentence. *The Novel in France, Baudelaire,* and *The Classical Moment* are essential to any serious student of French literature, and in this new book, Mr. Turnell shows himself a perceptive and profound critic and explicator of that literature.

He sets the tone and suggests the shape of his book in its first chapter, "Form, Vision and Language," in which he discusses their intricate relationship in the nineteenth century. He shows how the classic search for *le mot juste* (the right word) gave way to the search for *le mot propre,* the suitable word, that would convey "not merely sights, sounds and smells, but the very aura in which the novelist's characters lived." This process, he avers, began with Balzac and Hugo, continued with Flaubert, the Goncourts and Huysmans, and culminated in Proust.

This change in expression was accompanied by a profounder change. It is erroneously supposed that belief harms a novelist. Quite the contrary, the acceptance of any credal system saves him a lot of time and trouble. Otherwise, instead of the nature of his characters, which is his proper field, the novelist is forced to reconstruct a whole universe, *before* he can settle down to tell his story—for he must have some place in ethics, in habits and customs, in which his people are at home. In other words, the Ten Commandments and Someone who spake by the prophets, are an asset, not a liability, to the creative writer.

Sometime in the nineteenth century, Mr. Turnell declares the writer "ceased to rely on himself or to seek the Good Life in a personal philosophy; he looks for an authority outside himself which will take the place of his lost religious faith." This change, from the high safe country of the moral certitudes, to the muddy flats of a framework oozed by the novelist from his own preferences, like a nestling swallow, took place with Racine and Pascal. Pascal he calls the poisoned source, but already in Racine vision leads into conflict, instead of, as in the classical writers, out of it. Mr. Turnell notes the significance of the fact that the first modern novel, Madame de la Fayette's *Princesse de Clèves,* was written the year after the production of "Phèdre." In Stendhal the moment of truth still leads to action; in Proust, vision leads only to more vision. In Rimbaud and in Proust the imagination has finally taken over all those areas which used aggregatedly to be termed the interior life: the spheres of conscience and of contemplation. What Rimbaud and Proust call *la vraie vie* is what the philosophers call praeternatural experience, and the mystics a state of recollectedness: the perception, however fleeting, of the 'only now,' the *tunc simul* of eternity.

Through the great system makers, Balzac and Zola, the imaginative life and art itself, becomes the great *ersatz.* With the withdrawal of belief-first from religion, then from the perfectibility of humanity through science, only art remained still capable of assuming universal values, generally accepted. The Mona Lisa and Michelangelo's David, the sonnets of Shakespeare and Beethoven's great quartets remain, even after the Fall and the Redemption have been jettisoned, and the Ten Commandments have become a mere public convenience. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, the artist no longer holds the mirror up to nature. He is digging down into it with a scalpel. "The Novelist" Mr. Turnell says, "is no longer drawing a portrait of a familiar person; he is exploring an unknown being."

Language, too, is much affected by this change: it is no longer sufficient that it describe, evoke, condense, and explain, the seen and the known. Now it must become the compass, the sounding bell, the probe, of the unconscious, the invisible, the unknown. So the verb, pivot of the classic sentence, is the first part of speech to go: Victor Hugo experimented with the omission of main verbs in his imaginative writings. Then action-substantives appeared: "a shout in the street, people collecting, arrival of the police; frantic flight in all directions." Thus Zola goes further in the same vein: "It was an invasion of the pavement, of the roadway, the gutters, an idle stream flowing from the open door." This is as impressionistic as a Monet, and the aim of this impressionistic esthetic is to "give a unified vision of reality, to catch and fix . . . the moment which never returns."

The *style indirect libre* was a natural development of the monologue of the dramatists, Mr. Turnell says, and describes its evolution: "Its extensive use by Stendhal, Flaubert and Zola was an intermediate stage in a process which culminated in the 'stream of consciousness' of Edouard Dujardin, James Joyce, and scores of later novelists." What happens to the literature of a period, Mr. Turnell reminds us, cannot "be divorced from what is happening in painting or music. For the painter's experiments with light and color were, like the stream of consciousness technique and free verse, designed to seize and to fix the 'only now.' Classic French prose depended on syntax, not on vocabulary; the nineteenth century experiments in arranging images, with the new forests of symbols,

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with the tricks and tangles of logical relations, with hypallages (transpositions of qualities from one object to another) with the use of slang, of *patois,* of special languages (for homosexuals, as in Proust; for women, as in Virginia Woolf) all these devices and contrivances "when properly used" have enabled imaginative writers to extend their range enormously. But they remain devices, and, in the end, it is what the novelist sees, and how he sees it, what he feels, and how he feels it, not what he says, or how he says it, that matters most of all. So. Mr. Turnell subjects the *weltanschauung* of Zola, Gide, and Mauriac to fluoroscopic scrutiny; more superficially he glances briefly at Prévost, Stendhal, Maupassant, and Proust.

He is at his best with Zola, patiently taking Zola's Mercator's projection of a Greenland—his huge, outsize island that huffs and puffs its pretensions to be the mainland, and reducing it to size, while noting the extraordinary constructional ability of the Meccano-minded man (he never mentions how like, in some ways, Zola was to H.G. Wells —the Wells of Mr. Britling). He shows Zola's capacity to organize, his absolutely masterly alternation of contradictory images. In Gide, Mr. Turnell emphasizes how both in *L'immoraliste* and in *La Porte Etroite,* the narrow gate, or odd path, instead of leading from the natural out into the supernatural life, leads instead into the innermost recesses of the cell and death. He sees below the surface of Gide's homosexuality, and shows how both in literature and in life he was revenging himself on his wife for his mother's having made him what he was, and for being what she was: the pederasty was incidental, as Gide's affair with Elizabeth van Rysselberghe showed (he legitimatized his daughter after his wife's death) only the sadism was endemic, and spills over into every one of the bitter-apple tales.

Mr. Turnell points out that Mauriac's monotony comes from the fact that you cannot have the world of extremes without boredom. "Extremes create their opposite and monotony is their natural antidote,

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the only element of rest or stability in a violently changing situation." He decries Mauriac's habit of creating failures: "All his principal characters are human failures . . . it is one thing to study failed human beings and quite another to create characters who are the projection of some moral failure on the part of the author."

And, with Mauriac, Mr. Turnell comes back to his first contention: the writer is happiest when expressing himself within a well-defined framework, as he did in the Middle Ages, when religion imposed the pattern. "All good art must necessarily be the expression of an individual sensibility" he concedes, but the individual artist should live on the mainland, not waste his time constructing laborious islands which may melt or float away. As Charles Morgan once said: "Oh, for the Ten Commandments! Now that adultery's social not sinful, I have to think up the most elaborate ways of keeping my characters from going to bed (and ending my book) on Page one. Internment in Holland, class distinctions, inhibitions—I've rung the changes on them all. Whereas when one could just assume 'thou shalt not,' one could write a three-decker in perfect peace."

It was in the seventeenth century that the emphasis shifted from intelligence to sensibility, from the collective to the personal experience. At one level, the change was expressed by Corneille and Racine, at another Voltaire and Rousseau, at another by Byron and Shelley. Since Pascal, Mr. Turnell glooms, religion "no longer creates the pattern or shapes the man; it is to a very large extent shaped by man's emotions. Instead of the pattern being formed by the impersonal, the enduring, it is formed by the personal, the fortuitous, the abnormal, until in the end religion itself becomes a single factor in a private world of hatred, guilt, and lust."

Today's writer no longer wagers whether he made God or God made him; he is too busy putting the symbols of the non-Existent into his books for his reader to pull them out, like plums in a pudding. Mr. Turnell has written a wonderfully nourishing introduction to a serious study of the art of French fiction, and has raised lots of literary hares thereby.

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Early Mauriac

QUESTIONS OF PRECEDENCE. By Francois Mauriac. Translated by Gerard Hopkins. Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. $3.50.

By ALICE ELLEN MAYHEW

THIS EARLY novel of Mauriac (1921) draws on two of his predominant experiences: the provincial capital of Bordeaux and its social shibboleths—the "aristocracy of the cork"; and the materialistic vanity that keeps man from thinking about his destiny and protects him from the enormous burden of the Infinite.

It is, briefly, the story of a family whose wealth does not derive from wine, and of their attempt to crash the society of the local "Sons," the vineyard nobility. The sister lives only to make a marriage with one of the scions of these families and the brother to be accepted by the philistines with whom he goes to school. To these ends they use, and betray, their rebellious, socially unacceptable friend, Augustin.

But Augustin, the illegitimate son of an apostate professor who later becomes a Trappist lay brother, is the only one who is free from the prison of their caste system. They break his heart and he goes out of their lives; Florence marries one of the most illustrious of the Sons and plunges into a life of boredom and promiscuity; her brother is accepted by a society he despises. And nothing is a defense against the "clarity" of mind that Augustin has bequeathed them.

They play a losing game. For Florence, nothing more, in matters of social precedence, can charm. For her brother, all that is left is that temporary social success he had desired above all else to protect him from "that Hunter" and His relentless activity, "whom (my) friend, freed from the world, had chosen as alone worthy of his love." By a kind of paradox, Florence and her brother, ridden with guilt, fling their world away and are at last free from the ephemeral graces that separate them from the real issues of life. Now, with nothing left, they echo Francis Thompson's acknowledgement: "Naked, I wait Thy Love's uplifted stroke."

Mauriac himself, in an introduction written in 1928, speaks of his characters as "caricatures, the very exaggeration of which serves to make them inoffensive." The society is a symbol of man's vain attempt to evade his terrible responsibility. Its trivial hierarchies hedge one in, the "watertight compartments offer

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us the blessed refuge of immobility; the little labels stuck on our backs save us from having to find a formula elsewhere."

Augustin is a dual symbol of the Absolute beyond their small world of prudent passions, and of the Hound of Heaven's unhurrying chase. Oddly enough, though they have betrayed him, they speak of Augustin later as having abandoned them to a dull existence and on the shore of a "temptress sea" they can not cross and which he had first shown them. But this sea, the Infinite, is more than a match for the poor dykes they had built as children build castles of sand. Augustin had spoiled their little world by robbing it of its enchantments. He was the incorruptible salt and his friend, at the end of his pretenses, can no longer live "without the memory of that bitter savour on [my] lips."

It is on matters of precedence that M. Mauriac is, as always, dwelling. The Chinese complexity of the particular society is merely the counterpoint of a more profound, existential question.

Colorful Stories

WHAT IS THE STARS? By Arthur J. Roth. Farrar, Strauss and Cudahy. $3.95.

By CHARLES MONAGHAN

SERVICE IN the military is the great common experience of this generation in America and Europe. But for every man who has known battle, there are a dozen who have marked time away from the scene of action or lingered through a peacetime hitch. So Arthur J. Roth is on solid, recognizable ground when he writes of the non-belligerent army of the Irish Free State during the Second World War.

The book's title is taken from a conversation between the Captain and Joxer in *Juno and the Paycock*. It is appropriate because Roth's conception of character is close to that of O'Casey the playwright. Knave O'Hanlon, for instance, one of Roth's enlisted men, is exactly the same conniving, sycophantic, lovable cadger of drinks as Joxer. The book's officers, too, are O'Casey-like in their spinelessness and ineptitude. But there are none of O'Casey's earth mothers in Roth's book to take on the world's responsibilities. Roth seems to propose an answer to surface meaninglessness through the character of Slater McGurk, who realizes as he finishes his army days that life is a worthy adventure.

Actually it is incorrect, as the publishers do, to call this book a novel. The chapters are not closely enough connected in plot or theme. It is rather a collection of short stories about a group of people whose only relation to each other at times is that they are on the same army post.

The best of Roth's stories are the humorous ones. He is a close observer of the ludicrous aspects of barracks life and is adept at capturing the colorful language of his protagonists. His enlisted men are in a constant war against their adjutant, Captain Percival Pettigo, and they are so sly and cunning that they invariably emerge as victors. Roth's serious stories are less consistently good. Two of them, concerning the meeting of innocent Irishmen with women of ill repute, are positively saccharine. But his description of the drunken Pettigo, mired in his own ineptitude, being insulted to his face by enlisted men, is ironic and touching.

One can't say that this book fulfills the promise of Roth's first novel, *A Terrible Beauty*. But it does prove again that he is a good young writer with a special talent for capturing the speech of his fellow Irishmen.

REVIEWERS

Anne Fremantle is the well-known writer, lecturer and critic. Her recent novel is *By Grace of Love*.

Alice Ellen Mayhew is on the editorial staff of *Town and Country*.

Charles A. Monaghan is on the administrative staff of New York University.

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